5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

TABLE II/11

HOHORITA MALE ADULTS IN SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	*Resident*	*Non-Resident*	*Total*
Teacher	9	1	10
'Medical'	3	–	3
Driver	2	2	4
Shopkeeper	4	–	4
Other	2	2	4
Total	20	5	25

the Australian rulers, although they also know that so far the difference is not great.

Finally, broadcasting services and the messages transmitted by councillors have greatly increased their knowledge of the outside world. Through their transistor radios, they become aware of, and discuss, the affairs of the independent nations of Asia and Africa. They are thus beginning to feel part of the modern world.

5. *Field Locations*

I spent one year in the Northern District, travelling through it a good deal. My detailed data come mainly from three villages which I shall now describe briefly.[13]

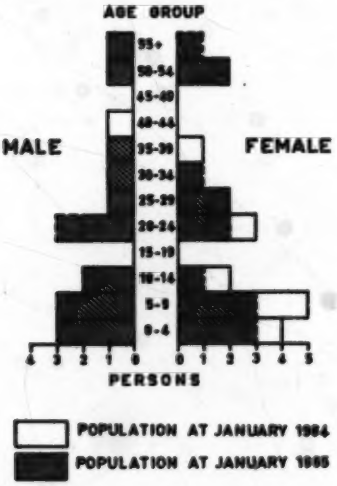
Inonda. This was the first village I visited; I stayed there for eighteen days, returning later for a few brief periods. The village was previously reported on by Crocombe and Hogbin, Krinks and Waddell. It lies eleven miles from Popondetta, on the road to Oro Bay, has seven dwelling houses and a population of forty-two. At the time of my visit, there was only one politically significant clan represented in the village, namely Andiriha, who had been driven from the foothills of Mount Lamington by the Sangara tribe some fifty years earlier. Inonda, like other Orokaiva villages, was laid out in an elongated rectangle, with the dwellings spaced at equal distances. Neat rows of palms, shrubs and floral borders interspersed with trees subdivided the central area between the houses so as to give each family a semi-private space. The village had an Anglican chapel, made out of a corrugated-iron storage shed, where a lay preacher gave services. There was also a corrugated-iron copra-drying plant, no longer in use. Just behind the village was a slab of concrete laid down by the army during the war, and now being utilised as the floor of a women's club house that was being built at the time.

Unlike the other villages I visited, Inonda is only partly Christianised, four of the households being pagan. Coffee gardens have been established only by the Christian families and the women's club, which is one of a number organised by the government for social development purposes, and is supported exclusively by the same families. Inonda was also unusual, at least in my experience, in having one leading family in control of virtually all forms of community organisation.

FIGURE 4:2

162 **INONDA: AGE-SEX STRUCTURE**

SHOWING NET CHANGES JANUARY 1964-JANUARY 1965



621 non-agnatic ties have led to close relationships with people in Ajoro, Sewa, Mosou, Urio, Jonita and Hohorita.

463 As in Sivepe, most of the men have had labouring jobs and two had also been teachers for the Anglican mission - one for 27 years, the other for 6 years, including 4 in New Britain.

871 Three household heads, all over 40 years of age, have had no education. One household head and one woman reached standard V and the woman's husband completed standard IV. Two young men, one a household head, served as farmer trainees at Popondetta Agricultural Station, and another completed eleven months of the course at the aid post orderly training school at Saiho.

554 In addition to his six years with the Anglican mission, one of the ex-teachers, a man of 35, was for two years local government

472 to the Northern District none has lived within a village community in the way almost all Orokaiva live today. Their houses are built on their farms adjacent to their cash crops rather than in a village. The farms of A and B are within half a mile of their villages but C's farm is two miles away, while D, occupying a resettlement block, is nearly a hundred miles from his home village. (There were no resettlement schemes closer at the time.) The first three men were joined in their new houses by relatives, in addition to their own nuclear families, who lived with, or adjacent to, them and assisted in the cash-cropping.

472 464 The four entrepreneurs had engaged in paid work for periods ranging from twelve to twenty-five years, with an average of seventeen. This is considerably longer than the average for village Orokaiva,[1] and the entrepreneurs have each been engaged in a much wider range of occupations than ordinary villagers.

472 The work experience of one of the successful entrepreneurs, B, had been mainly in cash-cropping activities, but the other three had had little such experience and none of them had any experience or training in retail trading. On the other hand, all four had [466] [463] held posts involving considerable responsibility over people and property.[2]

472 554 153 A factor which can only be a matter of conjecture at this stage, is that all four men appear to have drawn on the example of specific persons as models for their actions. Their aspirations to higher consumption standards, better housing, motor vehicles, education for their children, etc., appear to be very similar to those of the village Orokaiva people with whom I have worked. The main difference seems to be that most village people regard these goals as largely unattainable by methods at present open to them and are still seeking a clearer 'way' or 'road' to prosperity, whereas the four entrepreneurs have seen their goals as attainable by drawing on the models known to them from personal experience.[3] This is not to suggest that they have clear-cut or well formulated plans for development, nor that they are familiar with the economics of

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[1] Household heads at Inonda had spent an average of ten years in paid employment (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:59) and at Sivepe six and a half years (Rimoldi 1966:82).

[2] Their positions have included cook, labour recruiter, charge over food and equipment stores, foreman of plantations, of a coffee factory and of an oil exploration team, and police sergeant.

[3] In all four cases the models were European, but in the case of [177] Numbuk of Erap (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963a:1) the model was a successful New Guinean entrepreneur.

Twelve Orokaiva traders

W.J. Oostermeyer
and
Joanne Gray

Introduction

443 This is a study of twelve Orokaiva entrepreneurs who have engaged in retail trading with varying degrees of success.[1] With 121 only two exceptions, each owns a cash crop also. All except one are accessible by road from Popondetta. Although the sample is reasonably representative of Orokaiva entrepreneurs, quite different patterns may emerge among the few more isolated Orokaiva entrepreneurs or among the non-Orokaiva entrepreneurs in other parts of the district.

121 Each subject will be signified by an alphabetic letter according 128 to the relative success of his store. The names of subjects can be made available for the purposes of further research.

Information on two subject, I and K, is incomplete and possibly inaccurate in some details. Both were away from home at the time, and the questions were answered by close relatives.

124 Language was a limiting factor. English was used with those who had an adequate command of it, but in a number of cases it was necessary to use an interpreter. Some meaning is always lost when communicating through an intermediary, and some entrepreneurs were reluctant to discuss some personal details with an interpreter. The evidence of this report is not substantial enough to permit definite conclusions, and those proffered must be regarded as tentative.

444 Group I comprises four traders who were not operating their stores at the time of the survey. Group II comprises another four 463 whose stores had an average monthly turnover of less than $50.00. 472 Group III comprises those with a turnover in excess of $50 a month.

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[101] [1] The data in this paper were collected by W. Oostermeyer between December 1965 and February 1966. The material was written up by Mrs Joanne Gray.

Background experience

463 472 871 Education. Although the most successful group of entrepreneurs had all had considerable education (more than three times the average of the other two groups combined), the least successful group had had more schooling than the middle group. This is shown in the following table in which an index of education was ascribed to each person by multiplying years of schooling by standard reached.

Table 1

Index of education

A	20	E	0	I	56
B	63	F	9	J	30
C	15	G	0	K	45
D	9	H	6	L	56
Average	26.7		3.75		46.7

463 472 484 Travel. There may be a positive correlation between travel experience and trading success. All the entrepreneurs had travelled beyond their own district and, as shown on Table 2, the most successful entrepreneurs had travelled more widely than the least successful.

Table 2

Relationship between travel experience and entrepreneurial success

Travel experience	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Northern and adjacent districts (Morobe and Milne Bay)	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
More distant districts	'			'			'	'		'	'	'
Australia												'

463 472 464 Paid work. The number of years spent in paid employment correlates negatively with the entrepreneurial success of the sample, as under:

Table 3

Years of paid work

A	15	E	10	I	1
B	8	F	5	J	8
C	8	G	7	K	3
D	14	H	13	L	4
Average	11.25		8.75		4

When level of responsibility and status is considered, however, the position reverses: those who are most successful have held jobs requiring most responsibility.[1]

Table 4

Level of job responsibility

	A 2		E 2		I 1
	B 2		F 2		J 3
	C 3		G 3		K 1
	D 2		H 1		L 1
Average	75% at level 2		50% at level 2		75% at level 1

Social relations

Age. Average age is lowest for the most successful group but this is likely to be related to the fact that educational services were even fewer before and during the second world war than they have been since.

Table 5

Age

A	34	E	50	I	40
B	30	F	46	J	26
C	37	G	26	K	29
D	40	H	45	L	21
Average	35.25		41.75		29

[1] Level of responsibility was categorised as follows: (1) policeman, cook (pre-war), welfare assistant, medical orderly; (2) interpreter, labour recruiter, foreman; (3) storeman, clerical assistant, domestic (post-war), gardener, hunter, labourer.

463 472 Seniority of birth. This seemed to be of positive significance for entrepreneurs who based their operations on cash-cropping (Crocombe 1967:5). It may possibly be of negative significance for traders. Three of the four first-born sons fall into the least successful category and the fourth into the middle category.

[462] Sex. All those in the sample are men with the exception of L, who is the most successful of all. Her elder brothers were killed in the Mt Lamington eruption and she says she is regarded by her father as a son in many respects.

[614] [571] Traditional leadership roles. The only position of traditional leadership recognised today is that of sub-clan head. Only one of the entrepreneurs in the sample (E) was a sub-clan head, one was the son of a sub-clan head and in other cases the relationship was more distant. As most sub-clans contain only about two to ten men, sub-clan leadership seems clearly to give no advantage in trading. It may possibly be an inhibiting factor but we have no evidence on this point.

463 472 571 621 Non-traditional leadership roles. It is to be expected that Orokaiva entrepreneurs will hold responsible and respected positions in their community. The table below shows a positive correlation between entrepreneurial activity and elective community leadership roles. Seven of the twelve subjects hold such leadership roles. A local government councillor represents over 200 people (and one is president of a council serving about 10,000 people). The co-operative chairmen are elected by some hundreds of people and a church councillor represents about a hundred people.

Table 6

Elected positions of responsibility in the community

Elected position of responsibility	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J*	K	L
Local government councillor	'	'			'		'		'			'
Church councillor					'	'						
Chairman of Co-operative					'		'					
President of Women's Club												'
Total	1	1	-	-	3	1	2	-	1	-	-	2

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

Subject E, the only clan head in the sample, holds important elective posts as local government councillor, church president, and chairman of a co-operative society. He had also previously held paid positions carrying responsibility and authority and requiring initiative.

463 An examination of whether elective positions of responsibility
472 were held before or after entrepreneurial activities commenced
571 suggests that persons with leadership qualities already recognised
621 by the community are more likely to engage in such activities.

Table 7

Time relation between entrepreneurial activity and elected position

Time elected	A	B	E	F	G	I	J	L
Before trade store opened	'	'	'	?	'	?		'
After trade store opened							'*	

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

The holding of an elective position of responsibility concomitantly with carrying on entrepreneurial activities is not necessarily an advantage to the entrepreneur. Several of the subjects had found that their community duties were time-consuming and interfered with their trading activities.

463 Household composition. It is impossible to say whether a large
472 household tends to inhibit trading success but the data suggest that it may.

592 Group I subjects averaged 6.5 persons per household, group II, 5.75 persons and group III, 5.25 persons.

Many entrepreneurs complained that relatives, particularly older ones, took food and other items from the stores without payment but we have no measured data on this point.

Table 8

Size of household

A	8	E	5	I	10
B	3	F	4	J	3
C	10	G	5	K	6
D	5	H	9	L	2
Average	6.5		5.75		5.25

463 Residence in or out of village. In traditional Orokaiva society
472 members of a village or clan were bound together by a complex system
602 of kinship ties and obligations (Williams 1930:335). Subsistence
derives from the land and social security from the fulfilment of
[366] obligatory ties which bring reciprocal returns in times of sickness,

463 472 602 366 old age or other need. The system was not geared toward capital accumulation, nor was the bulk of material reward retained by the man who made the effort. To achieve maximum economic efficiency a modern entrepreneur must disengage himself to some extent from his kinship obligations. As Table 9 shows, a number of the entrepreneurs studied have physically removed themselves from the village to live near their cash crops, or have built close to, but outside, their villages. Thus while the vast majority of Orokaiva people live within a village, most entrepreneurs among them do not, and all the most successful live outside their home villages.[1] Independence, however, may place the entrepreneur in a vulnerable position. He has reduced access to the security provided by traditional ties, reciprocal obligations and religious rites within the village community, and there are at present no alternative provisions for social security.

Table 9 suggests that there may possibly be advantages in trading away from one's own village and where one is not dependent on one's villagers as customers. All three traders within their own village have had little or no success, and all the most successful groups are outside or away from their home village.

Table 9

Location of store

Location	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H*	I	J	K	L
Away from own village (i.e. own villagers not usual customers)	'			'				'	'			'
Close to but outside own village		'					'			'	'	
Within own village			'		'	'						

* H's village is to be shifted to the present location of his trade store. He resides within his own village.

[166] Half of the least successful traders were still living in the village of their birth, whereas 75 per cent of the traders in both groups II and III were not living in the village in which they were born.

463 472 366 Of the sixty-seven indigenes in the Northern District holding trading licences, twenty-three are shown in the government records

[1] Likewise all four entrepreneurs studied by Crocombe (1967:5) lived outside their villages.

463 472 366 to be trading within their own village and twenty-six outside their village.[1] In eighteen cases store location is not specified. The only indication of success provided by the licence is the period of operation for each store. This index is not wholly reliable, because a store licence is sometimes renewed when the store is no longer in operation but is intended to be re-opened.[2]

Table 10

Store location and years of operation of all indigenous entrepreneurs in the Northern District*

Store location	Years of operation by trading licences 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Within own village	3	7	11	-	-	2	23
Outside own village	3	4	8	3	4	4	26
No information on location	11	5	-	2	-	-	18
Total	17	16	19	5	4	6	67

[127] * This information was obtained from government records which are not available before 1960.

Only 9 per cent of those whose stores are located within the village have held a trading licence for more than three years, compared to a corresponding figure of 42 per cent for those who trade outside the village. This conclusion must be tentative as trading licences are an unreliable index of success, but it agrees with the evidence of the present study and with the data of Crocombe (1967:21). Both tables suggest that trading within one's own village may have an inhibiting effect on individual commercial activity.

463 472 476 Labour. The Orokaiva commonly enlist the help of relatives to establish and maintain cash crops. These relatives are rarely regarded as paid labourers, and are compensated with random gifts of cash, store goods, an undefined share in the profits of the cash crop or a wide variety of services such as help in farm work, bride price, etc. Such obligations are not specific as to volume, value or time, and even when met can be used for further credit.

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[1] The number actually within the village is considerably less as those trading and living within about a mile of their village are usually recorded as being within the village.

[2] For example, subjects A, B, C and D, who have all closed down their stores, still retain current trading licences.

Even those entrepreneurs who engaged relatives were not in favour of doing so, and none hired unrelated members of the same village. The traditional complex of relationships within the village tends to undermine the authority of a local employer, and this makes it difficult for entrepreneurs to enforce their orders. Wherever possible, they hire workers whose contact with the village in which the crop or store is located is minimal. They are usually hired as short-term casual labour on cash crops and are rarely employed in the stores. The employer-employee relationship has no traditional precedent and entrepreneurs try to follow their conception of a European model.

463 472 466 464 571 602 [177]

Table 11

No. of co-operating adult male kin

A	1	E	4	I	2
B	1	F	1	J	2
C	3	G	4	K	3
D	4	H	2	L	3
Average	2.25		2.75		2.5

Table 12

Labour engaged by entrepreneurs to help with cash crops

463 472 464 466 465

Entrepreneur	Labour						
	Extended family or siblings			Non-relatives from same village	Non-relatives from different village		
	No.	Period	Payment		No.	Period	Payment
A	-			-	1	1 month	$3/month and food
					1	2 months	- do -
B	-			-	-		
C	3	occasional	50c per week	-	-		
D	4	6 months establishing	food	-	-		
E	4	occasional	food and clothing	-	4	establish-ment	$4 per fortnight
F	-	previous casual help	food, etc.	-	-		
G	4	occasional	store goods, food and pigs	-	-		
H	-			-	1	1 month	$4 per month
					1	3 months	
I	2	occasional	food and clothing	-	-		
J	1	regular	food, no cash yet	-	-		
K	2	occasional	food, etc.	-	1	occasional	$1.50 per fortnight
L	2	short period	$2.50 per week	used to employ 3. Abandoned as unsatisfactory.	3	occasional	$2.50 per week

463 The five subjects who had hired labourers who were not related
472 to them all paid cash wages. A and H have received $1,500 govern-
464 ment loans to develop their blocks and have thus had the capital
426 to pay for labour. They have not relied on kinship assistance at
657 all. The loan has been an effective substitute for kin ties. L derives the capital necessary to hire labour from her trade store.

463 It will be noted that all non-relatives are paid in cash, but
472 most relatives are paid in kind. Most entrepreneurs are still
465 dependent on the help of relatives, as they do not have the cash to pay hired labour, and are thus forced, willingly or not, to exploit their kinship ties.

464 Property

602 Land and cash crops. Most of the twelve subjects did not have any records of cash crop production or sales, so it was impossible
463 to calculate their success in cash-cropping according to these two
472 criteria. For this reason their cash-cropping activity has been assessed in terms of the number of economic trees each has planted.

423 Ten of the twelve entrepreneurs have cash crops, and another has
245 cleared land for 500 coffee trees. The following table shows that the most successful entrepreneurs have the fewest cash crops. The
[426 largest cash croppers (A, D and H) have leases of government land
427 and government development loans of $1,500, but even when they are
657] omitted the proportions between the three groups remain similar.

Table 13

Commercial trees owned by each entrepreneur*

Entrepreneur	Coffee	Coconut	Cocoa	Total economic trees	Title to land	Years since cash-cropping began	Average trees
A	100	-	1,085	1,185	L	3	
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	702
C	334	88	-	422	C	?	
D	-	-	1,200	1,200	L	4	
E	1,600	11	-	1,611	C	20	
F	300	46	100	446	C	9	1,800
G	388	52	-	440	C	7	
H	-	-	4,702	4,702	L	4	
I	-	170	200	370	C	11	
J	intends to plant	-	-	-	C	-	168
K	150	-	-	150	C	9	
L	150	-	-	150	C	10	

* Coconut and other trees used for home consumption only have been excluded.

463 472 444 Trading. Almost all entrepreneurs felt that trading provided, or should have provided, more reward for the effort invested than cash cropping. Even those who had lost by trading wanted to return to it and C, D and E were saving their income from cash crops in order to restock their unsuccessful stores.

Table 14

Months of store's operation

A	2 (closed in Jan. 1964)	E	26	I	3
B	36 (closed in June 1964)	F	19	J	6
C	22 (closed in Sept.1965)	G	6	K	5
D	18 (closed in June 1965)	H	20	L	15
Average	19.5		17.75		7.25

The table above shows that the most successful stores are on average the most recently opened. There is a negative correlation between length of operation and trading success for each store. It may be that there is an optimum period of satisfactory functioning for stores owned by indigenes, after which custom declines. We have no evidence on this point and there are many variables on which the more successful traders differ from the less successful. Other variables, unrelated to the traders themselves, could influence the success of stores. These include the proximity of any other types of stores and the preference of some villagers for patronising co-operative stores rather than individually owned stores (see Crocombe 1967:21). The location of the store in relation to residence of the owner (see page 30), to roads and to other sources of casual custom (e.g. a plantation, a road or other construction project) is also significant. We do not, however, have measured data on these variables.

[412] Tools and equipment. All the entrepreneurs in the sample have many more tools and equipment (current replacement value averages $148.80; range $46.40 to $376.45) than ordinary villagers.[1] There is not, however, any apparent relationship between trading success and value of tools and equipment.

[1] By contrast, average current replacement value of tools and equipment per householder in three villages was $7.58 in Ongoho (Crocombe, unpublished), $18.38 for Sivepe (Rimoldi 1966:25) and $21.06 for Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:45).
A [See Category 463--Analyst]

Table 15

Replacement value of tools and equipment

A	$101.70	E	$138.05	I	$164.30
B	87.50	F	82.90	J	142.80
C	254.80	G	113.60	K	46.40
D	54.70	H	376.45	L	222.40
Average	$124.68		$177.75		$143.97

Traditional valuables. The possession of hambo (bone and shell ornaments) and di (feather headdress) may give some indication of a man's adherence to traditional values. In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of such valuables demonstrated wealth and prowess, but this function is now being taken over by money, as the relative importance of cash as the means of procuring desirable products increases, and money transactions become more frequent. Hambo and di are inherited through the father and sometimes other relatives, and they are usually distributed among the surviving sons. It is difficult to assess the traditional valuables owned by any one individual, as a man often looks after his younger brothers' shares and more than one person, both within and without the nuclear family, may have rights to the hambo and di kept in a particular household.

As shown in Table 16, subjects A to D possessed an average of $31.51 worth of traditional valuables, subjects E to H $46.16, and I to L (only one of whom has any such valuables) $7.50. H, the owner of the largest quantity of valuables, acquired them by inheritance and does few transactions with them today.

Table 16

Cash value of traditional valuables*

A	37.33	E	50.00	I	30.00
B	25.00 (assessed)	F	11.15	J	-
C	63.70	G	49.90	K	-
D	-	H	73.60	L	-
Average	31.51		46.16		7.50

* Values were calculated according to rates set out in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:97-9. If a man held valuables jointly for himself and other kin, only his proportionate share is listed above.

Liquid assets. The three groups of entrepreneurs show a clear progression in average savings, group I averaging $37.32, group II $212.01 and group III $322.66. The details are given in Table 17. 463 472 454

Table 17

Entrepreneurs' liquid assets

Entrepreneur	Savings bank	Settlers Savings Club	Shares in co-operative or cash society	Cash	Total	Average for group
A	30.00	6.00			36.00	
B	5.30		60		65.30	$37.32
C	42.00				42.00	
D	6.00				6.00	
E	300.90			62.00	362.90	
F*	2.65				2.65	$212.01**
G	?				?	
H	320.00		12.50		332.50	
I	224.00		10.00		234.00	
J	?				?	$322.66**
K	536.00				536.00	
L	198.00				198.00	

* Savings were much higher but used on brother's wife's funeral and food to supplement garden produce during drought.

** Averaged for three persons only. G did not have his account book with him and said he did not remember the amount. J is said to have substantial savings but was not home when the data were collected and his brother did not know the extent of his savings.

The loans received by the entrepreneurs are shown in Table 18. As mentioned above in connection with cash-cropping, there is a negative correlation between extensive cash-cropping and success as an entrepreneur. This is further borne out by the fact that the only three entrepreneurs to receive loans of $1,500 from the Land Board have planted the most cash crops and are among the less successful entrepreneurs. 463 472 426 657

The receipt of a loan to assist in the establishment of a store seems to be correlated positively with entrepreneurial success. It must be remembered, however, that none of the most successful stores had been open for more than fifteen months.

Table 18

Loans received

A	$1,500 (land board)	E -	I $200 (from brother-in-law for store)
B	$178 (from younger brother for store)	F -	J -
C	-	G -	K $390 (from brother and share money for store)
D	$1,500 (land board)	H $1,500 (land board)	L -
	75%	25%	50%

Conclusion

Analysis of the three groups with respect to variables which may be classified roughly as economic and social reveals a degree of differentiation. The data do not enable firm conclusions on whether the different variables of themselves explain the relative success of the sample in trading activities.

The most successful group had fewer economic trees than either of the less successful groups, had considerably higher liquid assets, but fewer traditional valuables. They had more tools and equipment than the traders whose stores were closed, but fewer than the traders who, in this sample, can be classed as moderately successful.

The traders with highest turnover had been in operation for considerably less time than the other two groups, and their stores were more frequently outside the owner's home village. They had received more loans to assist with their stores, and fewer loans from the Land Board than either of the other groups.

With respect to social variables the most successful traders were younger than the other groups. Directly related to their lower age was their higher level of education and their shorter experience of paid work. However, the positions they had held had carried more responsibility and status than those held by the less well educated, younger and less successful entrepreneurs.

They were as often elected to positions of community leadership as the least successful, though the moderately successful most often held such positions, and more often held more than one such position (an achievement never realised by the least successful traders).

Table 19

Traders as at January 1966

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Economic variables			
Store turnover per month	-	under $50	over $50
Store outside village	75%	50%	100%
Average no. of economic trees	702	1,800	168
Traditional valuables	$31.51	$46.16	$7.50
Liquid assets	$37.32	$212.00*	$322.66*
Months of operation of store	19.5	17.75	7.25
Tools and equipment	$124.68	$177.75	$143.97
Loans received: land	50%	25%	-
store	25%	-	50%
Social variables			
Age	35.25	41.75	29
Index of education	26.7	3.75	46.7
Years of paid work	11.25	8.75	4
Non-traditional experience	16.75	10.25	11.75
Job: level 1 responsibility	-	25%	75%
level 2 responsibility	75%	50%	-
Community leadership	50%	75%	50%
More than one leadership position	-	50%	25%
No. of co-operating adult male kin	2.25	2.75	2.5
Size of present household	6.5	5.75	5.25
Eldest son	75%	25%	-
Residence village different from village of birth	50%	75%	75%

463
472
444

* No information on one subject in group.

The most successful traders had the smallest households, but used the help of co-operating kinsmen more than the least successful (whose present households were the largest) and less than group II (whose households were also large). The moderately successful traders depended most on the help of kinsmen, but not nearly so extensively as cash-cropping entrepreneurs previously studied (see Crocombe 1967).

[592]
[602]

593 further such lucrative young females. Of the six, two were Sivepe
592 women while the other four were women from other villages residing virilocally. A great many other families did not derive income in this way. Some of these, however, had daughters living in other villages, and their husbands too were sources of institutionalised gifts.

464 Though Waddell showed that the loss of adult male workers
433 through migration is already serious (37.8% in Sivepe and 25% in Inonda), the point had not been reached when the loss of manpower led to a decline in the production from garden lands. Waddell may, however, be right in ascribing the increasing consumption of the inferior Xanthosoma taro (see page 35 above)[A] to the deflection of the
889 adult male labour force which had to support old people whose vigour had declined. The older men did not stop work abruptly at a certain age; they would continue to go to their gardens, but the areas cultivated would become smaller; their children or young affines would help them. If an old man became widowed his daughter or daughter-in-law would cook food for him; in the case of a widow, uncooked food might be given, but most widows tend to live in a house where there are male relatives, the only two exceptions in the sample being the two widows
● [463] who stayed in the old village of Sivepe. There are also activities which are a specialty of the old: they tend to be the village artists and also the village sorcerers. When we wanted to buy artifacts, it was the old men who made the ornaments, the old women who made the best pots and painted the best bark-cloth. Similarly, the most active curers in the village were two old men and one old woman.

595 I saw no evidence of polygamy currently practised. Marriages
585 were always consecrated at the time the couple was baptised. Several people had at one time been divorced, but this was prior to the time
586 of baptism.

In Inonda, as I wrote earlier, no absent husbands sent money
464 home. The only woman at Inonda whose husband was away from the village was in jail, after breaking into a trade store with a hammer belonging to another man from Inonda. On the other hand, one man earned a living as a government driver, thus becoming more or less removed from the work in his subsistence and coffee gardens. Some other men took over his work, in return for appropriate counter gifts and services. In both villages, therefore, a pattern existed of outside earnings derived by a limited number of people whose garden work was taken over by other members of the village labour pool, while the money earnings were in one way or another widely shared among villagers.

Section 2: Division of Labour

114 The division of labour was the special subject of a study carried out in Sivepe by my predecessor, Mr. Waddell. As he has been

464 A [See Cat. 116--Analyst]

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in
[871] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase
[167] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
[191] at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more
463 occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

614 its efforts upon what were then the Jegase and Timuru clans, to the
463 exclusion of Seho. When my wife and I came to Sivepe, Jegase at once
177 claimed us, built our house for us and was ready to perpetuate the
123 familiar "special relationship" before I had a chance to assess the situation.

In terms of economic development, this extra experience of
614 Jegase did not actually make much difference. Seho grew just as much
177 coffee; the Seho clan leader was always in the vanguard for innovations
184 such as the Malayan rubber trees; Seho had about as much money income as Jegase, except that Jegase received more cheques from town workers married to locally resident women. It must be remembered that the educational background of the Jegase men was still rather limited and insufficient to open up the more remunerative avenues of employment. The younger generation of Seho was just as well educated as the younger generation of Jegase; in fact, the only person to have reached Form II was a Seho boy whose father had no schooling but a few years' work experience before marriage.

Finally, the leader of the Seho clan (without schooling, but
614 with brief experience in the A.P.C. before the eruption) made up in
157 shrewdness what he lacked in facility. Europeans who had dealings with Sivepe over land and other issues found him atough and calculating negotiator who knew as well as anyone how to safeguard the interests of his village and press for whatever blessings of the modern age might become available. As "committee" for Sivepe, he was a stern champion of village decorum. I have seen several other villages which vowed to eliminate pigs, but in these villages one could usually still find a very tiny piglet, so small you could hardly see it, which signified the hardiness of the old dispensation; in Sivepe, one only saw dead pigs. He would have no weeds, no houses out of alignment, no late noise; whatever the Australians chose to define as the spirit of progress, was strictly enforced by this leader.

The younger people are mostly going as far as they can (up to
871 Standard 6) at Sasembata School; so far only one has gone further.
614 One young man, who had finished Standard 6 and a young woman who had
189 done Standard 4, but was intellectually brilliant were regarded in the village as the educated élite; both were just above 20 years of age. They were both from Jegase households; they both helped us considerably as interpreters. It is likely that the Sasembata school produced others as competent, but they would have left for jobs elsewhere.

184 I have already pointed out that in Inonda there was less homogeneity. One man was markedly more educated than anyone in Sivepe; nearly all had been away on paid employment for long periods (longer than at Sivepe). The educated leader, attracting to himself other men with some education, was able to act as a kind of entrepreneur and thus two different patterns of life became established, emphasised by the persisting neglect of cash-cropping by one section. Two young and vigorous men who might well have grown coffee prefer to depend for cash on temporary plantation jobs.

TABLE 20

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED--ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	Education Seho	Education Jegase	Occupational Experience Seho	Occupational Experience Jegase
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	-	1	1	2
2 years	-	2	1	-
3 years	-	1	-	-
4 years	-	2	-	2
5 years	-	-	-	1
6 years	-	1	-	-
7 years			-	-
8 years			-	-
Over 8 years			-	4
Data vague	2	1	2	-
TOTAL	8	14	8	14

TABLE 21

463 HOHORITA MALE ADULTS IN SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Resident	Non-Resident	Total
Teacher	9	1	10
"Medical"	3	-	3
Driver	2	2	4
Shopkeeper	4	-	4
Other	2	2	4
TOTAL	20	5	25